1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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The warm feelings that link the natal coresidents of a household contrast sharply with the group's attitude toward outsiders. Commonly, latent hostility is expressed particularly toward the father's sister's husband, *kachũ*, whose marriage deprives the natal unit of a member. *Kachũ* is sometimes described as a potential traitor. As far as my data go, similar attitudes are not voiced toward other men who marry women of one's household.

Although the dictates of exogamy force the Araucanians to marry outside the natal household, they do not like to establish a wide range of affinal relationships. They tend to be fearful of strangers and to suspect them of being witches, so much so that boys used to be taught not to marry outsiders. When viewed in this light the customs of cross-cousin marriage and unilocal, patrilocal residence take on added significance. Under optimum conditions these practices require only two households for entrance into a series of marriage alliances. Thus, if a man brings home a wife from a certain outside household, his son secures a mate from the same group, since a woman and her brother's daughter belong to the same natal unit. In fact the term *ñuke* (which applies to mother, mother's sister, and wife) may be said to connote woman of an affinal household. Nor should it be overlooked that sororate, sororal polygyny, and levirate all tend to maintain or strengthen marital ties that have already been established by two intermarrying groups.[14]

Latcham reached the conclusion that a rite called *konchotun* implied a system of matrimonial alliances between two families.[15] Others say only that *konchotun*, the central act of which called for the sacrifice and consumption of a sheep, was no more

[14] Although the analysis here proposed is based on information independently secured, it should be noted that Cooper (1946, p. 719) suggested a similar interpretation. He quoted statements to the effect that one native rationalized cross-cousin marriage on the basis that it prevented discord, and that an earlier writer stated that sororal polygyny was common " 'to avoid quarrels and jealousy.' "

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 531.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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a woman. According to the other version a large group of Araucanians crossed the Andes from Argentina and settled at Nacimiento, near the upper reaches of the Bío Bío, or at Villarica, soon after 1800. Later, one unit went to Renaco while another moved into new territory at Carrarriñe. The name most commonly attributed to the latter's first settler is Manqueo who, accompanied by some brothers and other relatives, arrived around 1825. Two of his putative brothers were called Nahuelhual and Collío, and one of his daughters married a Painemal, from whom the reservation's present title holder is descended. One of Manqueo's sons, Paillao Huaiquian, succeeded his father as *loñko*, and founded the Huaiquian branch of the family, which is still important at Carrarriñe. One of his first cousins was known as Paineo, and he became the ancestor of another important family.

Today the principal groups at Carrarriñe are called Painemal, Huaiquian, Paineo, and Collío. All represent contemporaneous offshoots of Manqueo, the reservation's founder. Nevertheless, these people do not live in complete harmony, and at least three factions can be distinguished: Collío, Painemal, and Huaiquian-Paineo. The most obvious sign of the rift is in respect to hockey fields. These playing grounds are important because they are used not only for sport but also for major rituals. At Carrarriñe there are four separate fields. One, associated with the Huaiquian-Paineo group, is the main field and is recognized by all the inhabitants (Fig. 8, near house No. 25, and Pl. XI, Fig. 2). A second field, somewhat more restricted in use, is linked with the Collío family (Fig. 8, near house No. 18), and a third is associated with the Painemals (Fig. 8, near No. 6). Still another schism seems to have occurred in 1948, when Bartolo Gallardo put a new hockey field into use near his own home (Fig. 8, No. 38). Gallardo's action is linked with Carrarriñe's dispute over schools.

Approximately twelve years ago Bartolo Gallardo moved to Carrarriñe from Tromenguelo because he had inherited some land from his grandfather and because his mother was living in Carrarriñe. About 1938 Gallardo was appointed to teach in the

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Misión Araucana's school at Carrarriñe. Soon after, a rival instructor named Martín Duminghual opened an independent school with government support. A series of quarrels broke out, and Carrarriñe became divided into parties that supported or opposed Gallardo. Early in 1948 the Misión Araucana found it necessary to dismiss Gallardo, who was replaced by Domingo Carilaf from Tranahuillín (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Thereupon, Gallardo opened a school of his own and dedicated a new hockey field on July 14, 1948. Thus, Carrarriñe finds itself in the curious position of harboring three schools within a league of one another.

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CARRARRIÑE

Carrarriñe was officially designated as a reduction in December, 1887, and underwent allotment on December 16, 1921. It contains between fifty and fifty-five households. Working conditions did not permit us to secure sociological data on all the inhabitants, but information was obtained for thirty-eight dwellings, distributed as indicated in Figure 8. There were 224 people residing in the thirty-eight units studied, an average of six to a household. The range is two to twelve, and the mode is six, as may be seen in Table V.

The social structure of Carrarriñe differs from that of Cautinche in several basic respects. For one thing, reservation exogamy is far less common, probably because the population of Carrarriñe is larger and more diversified. Data obtained for thirty-six married women reveal that thirteen, or 36 per cent, of them came from "Greater Carrarriñe," eleven from within the main reservation, and two from Tromenguelo. The remaining wives were drawn from many scattered reductions. Informants pointed out several polygynous households, but did not furnish adequate statistics. In one interesting case a native speaker treated as a single familial unit the members of a bigamous group in which a man's two wives lived in adjacent houses. In only one household (Fig. 8, No. 10) was there no adult woman. A widower and two unmarried sons kept house there.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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also widely used in curing. A patient who runs a fever is bathed in water tinctured with fragrant leaves, massaged, wrapped in clean clothes, and put to bed. Swellings and inflammation are counteracted by the external application of burnt earth and ashes, taken from the fireplace and compounded with herbs. Similar mixtures are taken internally as a remedy for indigestion. So far as could be discovered, a professional shaman is never called in to treat a sick child under the age of puberty, nor are youngsters ever made the subjects of the elaborate and expensive curing rites known as *machitun*. If an infant dies it is promptly buried without much ceremony and is, apparently, soon forgotten.

Araucanians of today are very fond of their offspring and indulge their desires; they seldom scold or strike them. Only if children are exceptionally troublesome are they sometimes punished by slapping or whipping with a leather strap. Old-fashioned as well as modern child training puts great stress on the inculcation of respect. Children were taught to show respect to all their elders, and more particularly to the fathers of families, especially if they happened to be *loñkos*. Youngsters of either sex who showed disrespect by eating before their elders or by taking things without permission used to be punished by snatching or pinching at their genitals. (Incidentally, gripping a man's testicles, *lolotun*, was a common trick in fighting; and co-wives, *müriwen*, occasionally punished a bad husband in this manner. This was a sanctioned procedure and was not supposed to lead to reprisals.)

Children were also taught not to lie or steal, never to desert their relatives, not to become too intimate with strangers, not to eavesdrop, and never to enter or look into strange houses. They were strongly cautioned against leaving home after dark, and those who disobeyed were told that *ñunechen* ("God") would cut short their lives; or else that an evil spirit, *añchimallen*, would snatch away their shadows (souls).

Until very recently bad little boys or girls were frightened by the sudden appearance of a man wearing a black mask, *koloñ*.[21]

[21] Typical masks are figured in Joseph, 1931*a*, p. 72.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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that they can get no justice from the government or from their own leaders.

Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs. True, they may exercise discretion in setting a date for an assembly or *ñillatun*, and they may select an officiating *machi* and other participants, but once the rites get under way a *loñko* has little more to do than any other celebrant.

All in all, the bonds of loyalty to a chief, the sentiments of attachment to one's own group, and the ties of kinship and common residence that served to give each community a sense of cohesion and solidarity have virtually disappeared. Members of a reduction may still show a bit of neighborly interest in one another and, to some degree, relationship ties may hold together coresidents of a reservation that was founded by a close kinship group, but growing schisms and factionalism are everywhere apparent, and community enterprises have been reduced to the joint sponsorship of an occasional assembly, *ñillatun*, or hockey game, or else to a show of common interest in the maintenance of a school.

Schooling, in turn, has become a prime agent in facilitating the breakdown of Araucanian culture. Not only is instruction conveyed in a foreign tongue (Spanish), but most of the available schools are conducted by missionaries. Rural schools, especially, are taught by Christianized natives. This means that much time is devoted to preaching and hymn singing, and that values and virtues not based on Mapuche life are taught. Then, too, the missions customarily offer far better medical care than the state provides, and with every cure by doctor, nurse, or trained missionary, the people's confidence in *machis* grows less and less. Just the same, and regardless of how much parents may regret the passing of the old order, the great majority of them are practical enough to recognize the advantages of education and to encourage their youngsters to get as much schooling as possible. Already the young folk excel their elders in arithmetic, speaking, reading, and writing Spanish, and as time goes on more and more of them are adopting Chilean ways. The relationship of schooling to Christianity and the speeding

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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out the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material.

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed.

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peuman
petu ñi ilchalen
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires.

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

764 articles of food, and laid them on the ground near the corpse. As each one deposited his gift, he uttered loud cries and lamentations, which were taken up and repeated by the women. When everything was ready for the burial the procession was formed. The bier was borne by six of the eldest chiefs, behind whom came the coffin-bearers, the remaining chiefs and near relatives of the deceased. After them followed the wives and general body of the Indians, numbering more than two hundred. From the moment the bier was lifted from the ground the whole assembly began to utter loud cries and lamentations (*avavan*) which were kept up at intervals during the whole ceremony. The procession was headed by the *machi*. The wild bull had already been dragged to the grave, dug by the young men with sharp-pointed sticks and wooden shovels. The cemetery (*eltun*), was situated on a slight eminence about 300 yards to the west of the village. During the march thither, several of the braves (*mocetones*), mounted on their best horses, and tricked out in all their finery, rode round and round the procession, brandishing their lances, and shouting fiercely to drive away the *huecuvus*, or evil spirits. On arriving at the grave the bier was placed near it, and two of the chiefs pronounced funeral orations eulogising the departed. They were frequently interrupted by the howls and sobbing of the mourners. When the orations were 754 finished the bull was sacrificed. Its throat was cut by the *machi*, who caught its 787 blood in an earthenware vessel, which was passed round among the relatives and the blood drunk. The *machi* then cut open the carcase and tore out the heart, 764 which was also passed round. Each in turn gave it a fierce bite and sucked a little of its blood, uttering curses and revilings as he did so. After it had made the round it was placed in a skin bag and hung round the neck of the corpse. The 764 young men had been busy meanwhile skinning the bull. The hide was stretched on the bottom of the grave. The latter was about 8 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 4 feet deep. The coffin was placed on the skin and the corpse laid in it with the head turned toward the west. The cover, a thick slab, was placed in position and kept down by heavy stones, the cries and sobs of the mourners meanwhile increasing.

The presents were all placed in the grave, around the coffin. The grave was then filled in, each person as he passed taking a last farewell of the dead, and throwing in a handful of earth, some sprinkling a little *chicha* (cider) to the four cardinal points. At the head of the grave a *chemamluyi*, or wooden effigy, representing the deceased, was planted. It was crowned by a head-dress resembling in form the silk hat of civilisation. These figures are now frequently replaced by a cross. The favourite horse of the buried chief was slain over the grave, and both it and the carcass of the bull were left there after being slightly covered with earth. The funeral over, the crowd returned to the village, where the feasting and 578 debauchery were kept up for several days, more than one fight occurring, without however, serious consequences.

The hardihood of these Indians is astonishing. When they fall out they beat and hammer each other with extraordinary ferocity, neither attempting to parry

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the blows of the other. One strikes the other full in the face. The latter without immediately retaliating, seems to consider it a point of honour not to show any feeling, but does all he can to increase the other's wrath. "More," he says, "give me more, can't you strike harder? That was a woman's blow. Strike harder." At the same time he advances his face to receive the shower of blows that is sure to follow. When his contender pauses, he repeats his cries and taunts, and if no more blows are forthcoming he proceeds to batter his opponent. When both are tired out they each return to their drinking, as if nothing unusual had happened, as good friends as before, each one extolling his own powers, not, however, alluding to the punishment they had been able to support, but to the number of blows he had been able to strike. 578

Some little time after the burial of the late chief the Indians again re-united for the election of his successor. This was necessitated by the incapacity of the only living son of the deceased, who under ordinary circumstances should have succeeded his father. He was, however, *entren* and *cutranquetro* (lame and a stutterer), two grave disqualifications in the eyes of the Indians. There were two candidates for the chieftainship, both nephews of the deceased; Loncoguru (Foxhead) and Quilamanqui (Three condors). Both were strong, well made men, and good orators, qualities highly esteemed among the Araucanos. If Loncoguru was the swiftest runner of the tribe, Quilamanqui could hold out longer. Though the horse was not foaled that Loncoguru could not ride, yet who could throw the lasso like Quilamanqui, or swim like him. Loncoguru had fought for two hours with a famous Pehuenche chief and had finally come out victor, but Quilamanqui armed with only a club, had attacked a puma defending her young, and had brought off her kittens, and still wore her skin as a trophy. In such circumstances the election was not easy, and each candidate had a numerous following. The heads of the families, to the number of about one hundred, seated themselves in two long rows, facing each other. Each individual had a jar of cider by his side, which was replenished from time to time by the watchful womenfolk. For about two hours continued a scene hardly to be described. Everyone expressed his ideas at the top of his voice. All spoke together, no one paying the slightest heed to what anyone else was saying, interrupting their discourse only to take long draughts of cider. At last something like order was restored. One of the elder chiefs rose to his feet and addressed the meeting. He was followed by another and yet another. Finally, one of the candidates, Quilamanqui, arose and began a long oration, which lasted for over five hours, and concluded only when the speaker was absolutely exhausted. His opponent next took the floor, but owing to his having probably drunk deeply, while his rival was addressing the assembly, his oratorical powers were completely expended in a little over three hours. 622 [827]

Night had now set in, and most of the Indians were deeply intoxicated, lying around in the utmost disorder. Others who were either of a stronger constitution, or had not drunk so much, were indulging in the most unbridled licence. Many of them seized the first woman who passed near them and staggered off into the

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

negotiations.[33] There also developed a type of Indian mercenary who supplied his own weapons and served for a specified length of time at a prearranged scale of pay.[34]

It seems quite clear that there was no pan-Araucanian sentiment to which the estado could appeal. When local chiefs were asked for troops they not uncommonly rejected the request. If they acceded to the demand, they chose the bravest man for a leader and dispatched the force under his command. Service was performed in the estado's forces for no more consideration than lodging and hospitable treatment. In the event of mortality the close relatives of the fallen warrior were compensated by the residents of the province in whose defense he died.[35]

Some of the localities simply did not want to fight the Spaniards, preferring to make the best of conditions under Spanish rule. The Indians around Angol, for instance, joined the Spaniards in war against the estado for a number of years. While the estado leaders accused them of subverting the general Indian cause, the Angol tribes retaliated with accusations of plunder and theft.[36] The estado, with its own crops destroyed by warfare, never hesitated to raid the stores of those who were not immediately allied to the cause. Araucanians who refused to fight were subjected to violent reprisal.[37] Even in the province of Arauco all was not unanimity. An old chief was forced to flee with his family and take refuge in the Spanish fort in Arauco because he would not support the war, thereby giving evidence of pro-Spanish sympathies.[38] It is difficult to guess how many others there might have been.

By 1594, according to Olaverría, the estado claimed suzerainty over all of the allareguas from the Biobío to the Imperial River, and was held in dread by all of the Indians as far south as Osorno. The estado was so feared and respected, he said, that Indians in the extreme south would break the peace when the chiefs of the estado so desired.[39] Nevertheless, the chiefs never succeeded in gaining effective suzerainty, even for purposes of war. Authority continued to be local,

33 *Idem*, pp. 105, 133.

34 Juan de Herrera, "Relación de las cosas de Chile" (CHC, vol. 2, p. 251).

35 Olaverría, p. 23.

36 Marmolejo, pp. 126-127.

37 *Idem*, p. 83. The Indians around the settlements who were friendly towards the Spanish were sorely vexed by the depredations of the estado's warriors. Crops were burned or stolen, and women and children were carried off to be used as drudges. See Alonso García Ramón to the King, 1613 (Gay, II, pp. 270, 279); "Informe de Juan de Xanquenada" (*idem*, pp. 241-242; Nájera, p. 60). Through acts of terror the estado sometimes forced friendly Indians to rebel against the Spanish. Through maladministration the Spanish sometimes achieved the same end. Plundering of Indian stores and raping of their women brought alienation and revolt. See Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñán, *Cautiverio feliz* (CHC, vol. 3, pp. 51-52).

38 Marmolejo, pp. 110-113.

39 Olaverría, p. 22.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

arrangement. Formerly, Ego and his Fa or FaBr seem to have competed for marriage partners. The forms of marriage in question were MoBrDa and WiBrDa which, in the case of Ego and his Fa or FaBr, involved the same potential mate. This competition was expressed in direct statement, innuendo, and in a number of songs dealing with *kuruntukui* (i.e. taking *kurun*).

Today discord between families sometimes thwarts one or more of the cross-cousin outlets for marriage. When this situation exists, or when there is exceptional physical distance between the families, Ego tends to marry a "local" girl, who may however be a member of the larger kin group. It is likely that during the turbulent war years cross-cousin marriages often went by the board for similar reasons. The establishment of peaceful conditions permitted the avuncular pattern to strengthen. Apparently it had a florescence during the early decades of the twentieth century, under the reservation system, finally gaining terminological expression in the Cholchol region. Gifford's remarks about the passing to the son of the right to marry WiBrDa seem to be applicable to this situation (see Hallowell 1943:491). The use of a mother term for the daughter of the maternal uncle suggests the former dominance of WiBrDa marriage. As Murdock suggests, in a passage pertinent to this situation (1949:168), a long time was necessary before avuncular rights were inherited by MoBrSo and before this succession was reflected in the kinship nomenclature. However, it seems that the generations of disruptive warfare and desultory, semi-migratory horticultural and herding activities tended to perpetuate an instability in local groupings and kinship alignments which, in turn, deterred the development of the avunculate and other features of strongly institutionalized patri-organization. Once the reservation system introduced a generally peaceful situation and set up the preconditions for sedentary and more intensive agricultural activities, local kin groups were stabilized and increased in size, patrilocality and patrilineality acquired new importance (especially in regard to inheritance of land), and, where this favorable milieu existed, the Omaha pattern seems to have developed.

Titiev pointed out that the former practice of patrilocality, in which large households of kin were not uncommon, has recently given way to neolocal residence. In general, reservation exogamy is maintained and sons often establish separate households near their parental home. The effects of change from unilocal households to neolocal households depends on the proximity of the offshoots to one another and to the parental household, as well as on the amount of contact customarily maintained among them.

Some of the recent changes in residence may be understood only from the point of view of external and internal migration, which have reshuffled the social aggregates. One aspect of external migration bears directly on one of the "basic assumptions" regarding matriliny, and therefore will be reviewed at this point.

Latcham (1924:82) argued that matrilineal traits endured until the end of the eighteenth century,[7] referring mainly to the naming customs which he associated with totemic clans and matrilineal inheritance. I suggest that

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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should. In the absence of men, women were quite talkative and intelligently so.

Men were seen showing consideration for their wives and being helpful when needed. For instance, a man was seen doing such things as tightening the saddle for her when she was mounted on her horse; handing her baskets or sacks which she was about to transport on horseback; holding a baby or taking turns carrying it when walking distances; arranging her silver hair ornaments before she was photographed; fetching things for her while she was preparing food at fiestas; building a fire for roasting meat or heating water for yerba maté. Men made the arrangements to have a wife photographed "in her old Mapuche ornaments; she has nice ones you know." A non-Araucanian herbalist observed, "I have been in homes where a sick wife was treated to yerba maté by her husband and where he prepared the meal for the family."

The impression that the literature gives, that the Araucanian women were slaves to the men, was not substantiated by observations made during the present study. Neither did Araucanian women nor non-Araucanian informants consider it to be the truth.

Conflicts between husband and wife to the point of quarreling, or worse, occur but are rare, as in former times. Current cases were discussed in each area, but each case was cited as an exception. Quoting two Alepúe informants: "Our neighbor and his wife had a serious quarrel every few weeks for several years until a woman in their neighborhood was finally married; the wife accused her husband of having affection for this woman. Whenever she accused him of this, he whipped her with a lasso. Often her back had wales from the beatings. One time her husband pulled her out of the ruka by her hair. The wife came to us to complain; she pointed toward the other woman's ruka and yelled, 'There she lives, that devil!' The husband came to explain that he had merely talked to the woman." "One married couple here is known to quarrel much—something that is not a Mapuche custom. The wife tries to give orders that the husband thinks he should give; that is why they quarrel. I was there once, when a quarrel was on, and I told them that they were acting like Chilenos; that such conduct was not customary among the Mapuche, and that ended it—at least for then."

Parents are fond of their children. One mother sat by, holding their 2-year-old baby in her lap, while her husband gave information. She cuddled the child, stroked its hair, repeatedly looked fondly at it, and gave it a prolonged kiss saying, "Ellaken!"—the equivalent of "You sweet thing! I could eat you up!" A father, too, was often seen

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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574 a feeling of closeness to one another. "As soon as anyone is sick in a home, neighbors come to offer their assistance; they will sit up with the sick person's family all night." Neighbors will be at hand, too, at threshing time and when a ruka is to be built. It was not unusual for informants to offer me special help. "You must come to Maiquillahue on the day that the ñillatun closes: there you will see many of our old silver ornaments, for the women will all wear theirs then." "If we were not so busy with the harvest, I would ride up the Cordillera to where the araucaria nuts grow and fetch you some. It is a little early for them to have ripened, but some may have fallen by now because of recent strong winds."

PRIDE, PATIENCE, MODESTY

152 The finest compliment that can be paid an Araucanian man, woman,
● 578 or child is to express an appreciation of his intelligence; and contrariwise, one of the most insulting things one Araucanian can say of or to another, or to a non-Araucanian, is that he is stupid, or that he acts senseless ("is crazy"). Disparaging remarks about another almost without exception concern the intelligence. An Araucanian will speak of his keen intelligence quite frankly and with conviction, and without a thought of conceit or boasting. On an occasion when I admired a choapino (type of hooked rug), the 40-year-old woman who had woven it remarked: "One needs good intelligence to carry through a design such as I have in that choapino," and added with humor, "The Chilean women would not be able to do it!" "I want to tell you everything as well as I can," said a 60-year-old man, "so that you will know that the Mapuche have intelligence."

152 If an Araucanian has but a slight suspicion that his intelligence is questioned he shows resentment. On occasions when I sought to clarify or check items of information, or get additional details on a point, I could expect an answer such as, "We covered that on Monday. Let us go on to something else!" or "I told you that once. What is the next question?" One day a woman who did repeat, did so very reluctantly. Much annoyed and chagrined, she said not to tell anyone that she had repeated it; that it really reflected on my intelligence and on her ability to tell a thing well the first time. "Since you did not comprehend it, I shall use demonstrations like I use for a child." She repeatedly punctuated her acount with: "Do you really comprehend this now?" or "Shall I talk more slowly?"

152 Differences in intelligence are recognized. A non-Araucanian
828 teacher complained to a young Araucanian about an improperly con-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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834 while doing so. During an interview two girls, 17 and 19 years of age, wanted a picture taken of themselves but would not pose in the presence of three young men who were also waiting to be photographed. Finally two of the men, nonrelatives of the girls, walked away. Since the one that remained was a near relative, the girls posed. Later the mother of the girls remarked, "I am glad to know my girls had enough modesty not to have a picture taken this morning in the presence of those two men; they are not related to us."

836 A non-Araucanian was certain that most girls lived chaste lives, although she knew several who had not—each had been promiscuous with several young unmarried men before she finally married one.

An Araucanian man in his forties, in speaking of conditions as they were when he was a young man, said: "Formerly things were very [241] good. For instance, several families assisted each other at threshing time and everybody then slept in the fields. Never did one hear of things happening among the young people. Everyone had deep respect for everyone else in those days." A non-Araucanian teacher listening in agreed: "As many as 20 families will help each other. I have never heard it said that there is immoral conduct at such times." A non-[838] Araucanian man noted, with regard to the behavior of unmarried men today and in recent times, that there is much homosexuality among them; that men speak of it freely and openly.

837 Very rarely was a married woman unchaste—only one instance was mentioned and that with disfavor. The woman concerned complained that she was being maligned by people who were saying that she was spending time with other men. (Her husband was serving a term in jail for stealing cattle.) Not long after this she sent her five children to her husband's parents, already advanced in years, telling them that she herself would come later. When she did not arrive, the old people went in search of her. Her ruka had been cleared of everything, even the children's school books. She had gone to live with the other man.

In general men respect women. "If a woman passes by a group of men, one may say, 'I would like to have her.' Another will say, 'She is a married woman,' and that puts an end to that conversation."

QUARRELING, ANGER, IMPRECATIONS, MURDER, REVENGE, SUICIDE, CANNIBALISM

● 578 Quarrels occurred between persons and between families, but comparatively rarely. Brothers and sisters seldom quarreled. "We learned at home as children to respect and to do things for each other." A 26-year-old woman told of a quarrel she was having with her eldest

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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brother over the ownership of a ruka: "When my father died my brother took his place in our family; I was still small then. Before my mother died, a year ago, she gave me this ruka—she and I were living in it; my brother had married and lived in his own ruka. I have lived here since my mother died. And now my brother lays claim to the ruka. He has repeatedly asked me recently to live with him and his family. I have told him that I will not come to live with him—his wife uses bad expressions. Since then he does not come to see me; nor does he talk to me; he passes me by on the road without a greeting." 578

Simultaneous wives were known to quarrel occasionally, but in general there was little dissention among them. Instances of prolonged quarreling between husband and wife existed in all areas, but were reported as of rare occurrence; usually the woman gives in; an occasional one does not. "The Mapuche woman is humble. She is obedient, even if her husband is quarrelsome," said a non-Araucanian.

Quarrels between two intoxicated men are frequent; often they end in lively fist fights. Such men will give each other black eyes, will bruise or cut each other's faces, and then on the following day will transact a joint business with a third man. "Neither one seems to mind the beating he got from the other," said the informant.

Prolonged family feuds seldom occur; one was known to exist during the present study. Short-lived quarrels between families, however, arise sporadically. One cause is neglecting to keep fences repaired to prevent cattle from breaking through and damaging crops. Quarrels between schoolchildren are sometimes taken up by their respective families. Sides are taken and members exchange hasty words. If feelings become strained, public opinion is sought. Because of a quarrel, a man closed up a fence, thereby shutting off a path used by schoolchildren. The father of the children asked the teacher: "Do you think that this is just? We have had a path through that man's land and another family's land and our land for years. No one has ever objected. And now this man does what no man ever should do: treat other people's children badly. Tell me, do you think he is fair?"

Anger is expressed by the father of a family more often than by any other person. He may vent his anger on both his wife and children, but more particularly his wife, in words or beatings.

An exasperated person—adult or child—will say of or to another: "You stupid person" (pofo), or "You senseless person" (wedwed), or more rarely "You devil" (wekufü). Angry adults may call each other dog in Spanish, something quite evidently not of Mapuche origin since the Mapuche word for dog (trewa) is not used in anger.

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578 "It would not mean the same." Vile expressions used by angry persons, generally hurled back and forth between them, informants preferred not to translate. "They are really bad words; I will not tell them; they are sex words related to men. We have words, too, that are so bad that should a mother be very angry with her children, she will not call her children by them." Cooper lists among common insulting terms "ghost," "dog," and "toad," and, as worst of all, "sorcerer." He directs the reader (1946, p. 729) to Guevara (1911, pp. 50-56) for a list including grosser insults.

An old man gave a sample of an imprecation used by Araucanians, "even in old days." He spoke it in low tones in Araucanian. His wife and daughter murmured displeasure, in fact slight horror. He translated it as meaning, "Would that it were the will of God that you be unlucky." He added, "This is the worst thing of all that one Mapuche can say to another."

578 152 Murder is known to have resulted from anger. An instance was related in which relatives of an Araucanian woman who was married to a Chilean came to the woman's ruka and told her that they were taking the land on which she and her Chilean husband were living. There had been much quarreling between the two groups regarding the land, because Chileans, so the relatives claimed, had no right to live on Araucanian land. One of the women relatives had with her a leather strap; with it, she said, she would whip the Chilean off the land if he refused to leave it. When the quarrel was on, she attempted to do this. The Chilean grabbed the strap and whipped the woman so severely with it that she died a few hours later. The Chilean, accompanied by his brother, immediately delivered himself up to Chilean civil authorities. He was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. The immediate relatives of the woman said nothing; more distant ones sided with the Chilean on the ground that the woman had had no right to whip this man or any other man. The informant continued: "That Chilean man was not known to be a quarrelsome man; he probably lost his temper." The interpreter noted: "The Mapuche do not uphold anyone of their own who is punished by the Chilean courts, not even a near relative. They say that the person has committed an offense and is deserving of his punishment."

754 Revenge is taken upon another by doing harm to his fields through witchcraft (pp. 154-155), or to his person by secretly putting poison into his food or drink, or by bringing sickness upon him through witchcraft. I was told of a case of a jealous machi (one of three simultaneous wives) who bore her husband no child, while the other two wives did. When these other two wives were found dead, one with her child in her arms, the machi was accused of poisoning them.

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wives took turns doing these. At extraordinary work, however, such as skinning animals or shearing sheep, all worked jointly. "My father had three wives that were not sisters to each other; they all lived in one toldo, but very agreeably so." 595

If husband and wife differed to the extent of quarreling, the wife generally gave in eventually. "If she would not keep still or do what her husband wanted her to do, things ended by the man hitting her." Instances where husband and wife did not live peacefully together were related by women who had been ill-treated by their husbands. 593 578

A disagreement sometimes reached the stage where the husband nearly killed his wife; but no case was recalled where a woman hanged herself to be relieved of an impossible marital situation. Causes for serious quarrels were drunkenness on the husband's part, infidelity or neglect of work on the wife's. "It is that way today," said an old woman. "My son often scolds his wife—I hear him. Then his wife complains to me. But I have noticed that she neglects her work; she is really stupid. I say to her, 'You are married and you must try to get along with your husband; and you must be prepared to suffer a little, too.'"

Children were loved by parents—in fact, by adults in general—and had much freedom within the family. No one child was given preference over others; all were expected to do their share of the work as soon as they were able to, and were held to their duty of doing so. 593 855

During this study children were seen with parents, grandparents, or other adult relatives everywhere, and they always seemed happy. Young mothers fondled their children and played with them. One tied a strand of grass about her baby's hair to keep it out of its eyes. While doing so she talked to the baby, and the baby jumped up and down on her lap, chattering. Another young mother repeatedly kissed her child and tickled it to make it laugh. Later the child sat on her lap, cooing to itself. Still later it toddled to an empty bucket, dropped something into it, and looked at its grandmother with surprise. The grandmother, too, put on a look of surprise and said, "What are you doing?" The child then laughed gleefully, and all present laughed with amusement. A young woman was rearing four children of her first marriage and three of her second (her first husband having died). All her children appeared happy, and, according to neighbors, no distinction was being made by the woman and her husband between the children of the two marriages.

Parents provided food, clothing, and shelter for their children; trained them in the mores of the people; taught them work expected

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customs than I do. And his brother, the cacique, knows less. How can he know? He spent 30 years of his life in Buenos Aires; he was taken there as a captive by the soldiers when he was still a boy." 152

Quarreling was probably a less frequent affair formerly than it is today; in the early days persons were given specific training as children in living agreeably together. An informant in her eighties found her young daughter-in-law, who lived in the same house with her, quarrelsome, "like too many young people today are. Instead of quarreling with her, I told my son to move away from here. And I have already told my youngest son to live away from here, too, when he marries." 578

Murder by violence was a rare thing; death caused by poisoning as revenge was a rather frequent affair; death as a penalty was institutional (cf. p. 348). A non-Araucanian missionary knew it to be a verified fact that dehydrated frogs and lizards and certain plants were used as poisons in revenge. An Araucanian in his eighties, when a young man, had been told by his father not to use poison; his father wanted his children to be "clean" people. "That is why I do not know many poisons. The only one I know is fanapue; it is made from the gall of frogs, and it is deadly." He continued, "We poisoned our own people; but an enemy in war, for whom we had a hatred because of his cruelty or otherwise, we knocked down, held him down, and while he was still living, we took out his heart, cut it into pieces, and threw the pieces in all directions. This was our revenge." When asked if the pieces were eaten, he answered with emphasis, "No, no, no; we never did that." Cannibalism was not part of the Araucanian culture. [278] [727] [266]

Profane expressions were not used; words of imprecation and insult were. After some persuasion, and having been assured that no person present would take offense, since his words would not be directed toward anyone in particular, a 51-year-old man gave the following as samples of imprecations: "Look out. Be careful of what you say, or great harm will come on you [probably a threat of witchcraft]," and, "I heard your words. And now I want to know why you spoke badly about me," and, "You have a weküfü [equivalent of devil] in you. And now you want to do me harm." A 59-year-old woman would not give samples of insulting expressions; they were too ugly, she noted. After some hesitation, she said, "They are very ugly indeed; they are about sex. A man says them to a woman, and a woman can say them to a man about his sex, too. I cannot tell you all the bad things that we say to each other when we get angry."

Occasionally suicide was, and still is, committed. The woman hangs herself; the man cuts his throat with a knife, or stabs "his heart 762

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241 In the Liumalla region yields are somewhat higher than in the
311 Central Valley reservations and many along the Pacific coast. A return
[453] of 5:1 is considered poor, 10:1 good, and 15:1 exceptional. Yields seem to range between 6 and 9:1 over a five-year period. While drainage is poor in the bottom lands, where water is held long after the rainy season, the hillsides and sloping fields, where wheat and oats
[34] are grown, suffer from extreme erosion owing to runoff of the heavy
[32] winter rains. Gullies form in the planted fields and a significant amount of the seed is washed away. There are many bare spots, consequently, when the fields are ready for harvesting. Contour plowing
[242] could do much to prevent this, but the equipment is unavailable to the Mapuche. Actually, terraces would have to be built in many places, if the hillsides continued to be planted in crops.

311 All the land in the Liumalla region was once heavily wooded.
313 There were great stands of timber not over a generation ago. The area was cleared during a lumber boom which occurred about twenty years ago, and which contributed to the prosperity of many Mapuche families in the general region between lakes Villarrica and Calafquén. Now there are innumerable dead, stripped trunks and stumps which are hazardous for cattle and vastly impede plowing and harvesting operations. These trunks and stumps are made into charcoal by a
[314] number of the Mapuche — an industry which is a welcome supplement to agriculture in the wooded areas of Araucanía.

243 Farming in this region is difficult because harvesters and plowing machines often cannot be used on the rough terrain. A good deal of the harvest is brought in by hand, although it may be machine-threshed provided the roads are passable and the people are able to cart their crops to a central threshing "depot" in town or on a nearby
132 *fundo*. Winter is generally severe in the area, with snow falling during
[131] the coldest months. In 1953, one of the most severe winters in many years, at least 20 per cent of the animals on Nahuelpan succumbed to exposure and starvation.

423 A similarly difficult year in 1948 precipitated the people's request
425 for *división*. The reservation had been without an effective chief for
[131] several years, and troubled times resulted in numerous quarrels over
622 matters that might have been resolved by the action of a strong chief.
[518] There were boundary disputes and fights over the condition of fences and the damage to crops caused by other people's cattle. Trespassing
[131] animals were killed for food during the severe winter that followed the poor harvest. Some household heads wanted no more of reserva-

1 [i.e. Reservation M. Nahuelpan — ANALYST]

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tion life and desired to sell their land. These were in favor of immediate *división*. Others complained because people who were not heirs of original *radicados* had married into the reservation and were using some of the best fields. Many of the residents petitioned the *Juez de Indios* in Pitrufquén to rectify the causes of these disputes. The upshot was that in 1949 the *radicados* and the heirs of *radicados* voted for *división*, and legal machinery went into action the same year.

When *división* was carried out and the land surveyed, there was a fairly equitable distribution, without much change from customary holdings. The largest landowners are those with a good deal of marginal hillside fields.

LABOR ORGANIZATION

Cooperative labor, *minga*co, is of great significance on the reservations. I do not mean to emphasize its agricultural importance, for this is diminishing. Of perhaps greater significance is its symbolic value for the integration of the reservation community. Its occurrence is indicative of the corporate spirit of the residential group or some segment of it. The very fact that *minga*co occurs less frequently than formerly seems to heighten its solidary effect when it does take place. Today it is almost purely voluntary, whereas in the past the chief exercised a measure of coercion. When *minga*co is planned, the community is astir with pleasant expectancy.

But *minga*co has still another kind of significance, and this for the anthropologist alone, in that knowledge of what *minga*co used to be like provides great insight into contemporary labor arrangements on the reservations and the role of the chief in organizing labor. *Minga*co is of heuristic importance, therefore, with respect to both economic and political institutions.

Recent Developments in the Minga*co* Pattern

Although few organizational details are available in the early literature, some fundamental points about *minga*co are clear. *Minga*co seems always to have involved "invitation," "communal work," and "feasting" (cf. Cooper, 1946:701). The host extended the invitation, described the work to be done, and provided food and drink for the participants. This is the same general pattern which occurs today among the Mapuche, and also seems to have been adopted by rural Chileans in some sections of the country.

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the family heads and adult sons are involved, the host provides everything in the way of food and drink. *Mingaco* of considerable size therefore can be held without the chief having to provide more food than he is able – perhaps a concession to general poverty. 476

Some kinds of communal work are much easier than others. House-building, for example, is largely a ceremonial affair, the *mingaco* serving to symbolize community solidarity and magically insure the durability of the house rather than because of the labor needed. In most cases, the host and his family have done most of the laborious work – such as pulling the *ratonero* grass used for thatch, cutting and shaping posts and poles and setting up the heaviest of these, and gathering all the necessary materials. Furthermore, *mingaco* may be held merely to put a new thatch roof on an old house, work which could be done rather easily by the family group. Many of the people invited to the housebuilding (*rukan*) take no part in the work but merely join in the festivity. 342 476 [395]

When all the materials have been readied – which includes the preparation of food and drink – the host selects from among his friends (relatives) two captains, each of whom is in charge of a work gang responsible for building one side of the house. The captains choose their crews. Although they have the right to reject anyone whom they do not think will do a good job or whom they do not like personally, this is all done with the full knowledge of the host. Ultimately, it is the host who must approve all the participants.

The work crews bring their families, the women of which might assist the host's wife and daughters in preparing the festive meal, and might also make small contributions of food and drink. After the work is finished, the house is "warmed" by several fires. Eating and drinking continue until the supply is exhausted and might last well into the night. The last few hours of these affairs are characterized by heavy drinking which sometimes results in fights breaking out, between men and women alike, and in charges of sorcery being levied. [574] [373] [578] [054]

Mingaco is also used for clearing land. The host usually makes his own selection of workers by visiting them and informing them of his plans. In many cases the owner has already killed the trees himself. All that remains is for them to be cut down and for the stumps to be dug out of the ground and hauled away. The work is very laborious and usually involves many teams of oxen. 476 241

Generally a midday meal is served and water and parched wheat [264]

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a conservative *indigenista* organization which has representatives in the national government. His influence on the reservation, however, is less than in the extrareservational sphere.

The other living branch of Alonso's sublineage is greatly depleted. Three of Juan's sons live off the reservation and it is unlikely that they will return. Of the two resident brothers, one (Y) recently married and fathered a son. He is making plans, however, to move to another reservation where he has a claim on five hectares of farmland held by his paternal half brother. This will leave his older brother, who is not married, his aged mother, his sister, and an adopted child on the reservation. A half brother, Martín, has lived in a nearby town for many years, but keeps in close touch with reservation life. He is an influential member of an indigenous political party which is in opposition to that to which José (X) belongs. This breach has served to implement the hostility existing between the two branches of the sublineage because of a dispute over inheritance. While the eminence of Martín and José in extrareservational affairs makes this an atypical situation, it nevertheless indicates how factionalism can cut across even the closest kinship ties. There is no longer any economic cooperation between the two branches of the sublineage, a condition which has arisen only in the last ten years. The members of the respective branches do not even speak, except to hurl epithets and curses at one another on occasion. There are charges and countercharges of theft and sorcery, and on one occasion the police were called in to settle a dispute arising over the inheritance of land and farm machinery.

In prereservation days such a situation would have been insupportable in a small residential group, and seems to have been most often resolved by one party moving away and losing touch with the natal group. Today, and over the past few generations, a different adjustment must be made. In the early days of the reservation period, the chief would have been able to quash open hostility of this sort, since his position at that time was considerably more authoritative than now. One method was banishment. At that time, before sublineation had become significant for the local group, banishment would have amounted to dismissing a troublesome individual and his wife and children, rather than an entire sublineage consisting of several families and all those additional families which had sided with them. Today's situation is differently structured. Sublineation has in some sense weakened the authority of the chief and the integration of the

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wealth of the community. Stressful situations within the community were no longer resolved simply by one segment moving away to establish a household beyond the authority of the local leader. One may move out from the paternal roof and set up a new household within reservation limits, provided there is available land. But one does not leave the reservation, unless it is decided to relinquish land rights and, indeed, give up the Mapuche way of life.

Even in setting up a new household within the reservation, individuals were required to seek permission of the chief, and in a certain measure this is so today. However, since most reservation land is already claimed through usufruct it usually remains for an arrangement to be made within a family group (often a minimal lineage) in regard to whether or not some fields will be made available to one of the members who might want to establish a household of his own. The important thing is the total-group aspect of reservation life. Adjustments may be worked out between or within families on an *ad hoc* basis, but it is the friction between the larger segments of the population, rather than intrafamilial disputes, that is no longer resolvable by emigration.

The extension of the chief's control over a sedentary population is a result of scarce land and the reservation system. The chief receives the support of those individuals most dependent upon him and generally has the allegiance of his entire patrilineage. His authority is sanctioned, on the one hand, by the Chilean government, to the extent that it does not conflict with Chilean law, but on the other hand it is weakened by the government's more recent policy of dealing directly with individual Mapuche rather than through the agency of their chief. This is so especially in matters of crimes and torts, since the development of a larger and more efficient police force in the indigenous zone and a more sophisticated attitude on the part of the Mapuche themselves about going to court.

Chieftainship also is weakened when the original title holder dies. If the successor to leadership is a man who is ritually adept and personally liked he will continue to hold sway over the reservation group, but in the absence of these qualities and if the population is composed of several kingroups, especially if these have increased in membership, his task is difficult. This must be related to the land problem, however, to be understood. Under Chilean law, there is really no legal heir to the *título de merced*. When the original title holder dies, no change is made by registering the land in the name of his heir. Rather,

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often hold important positions in the reservation community, being elders of the lineage. There is fairly keen interest among the young and middle-aged men. Many of the older people, if they are not too suspicious and cynical about the politicians and their promises, are very cautious in expressing favor for one candidate or another. The older Mapuche show a good deal of interest in learning who a certain Indian candidate is, that is, to whom he is related, where he lives or where he was born, and tend to form their opinion of him on the basis of what they might know about his relatives.

Allegiance to these pressure groups symbolizes a factionalism which crosscuts Mapuche society. In concluding this section, I offer the following example of factionalism at the local, reservation level. It will serve to point up something of the connection between a chief's loss of traditional political power, his new role as a member of one of the Mapuche pressure groups or political societies, and how the question of *división* affects political relationships on the reservation.

A chief in the Roble Huacho region, a younger son of the original title holder of reservation land, inherited his office from his elder brother in 1949, when the latter died. The title had passed to the older brother at the time of the father's death some thirty years before. The brother's sons were considered too young to assume the responsibility of leadership, all being under thirty at the time. These young men acknowledged this in 1949 and said that the transference of title to their uncle was *admapu*, that is, in conformance with customary law. Several factors have operated to change their position today.

At the present time these young men claim that the title to reservation land is no longer of importance to them, that they are interested only in *división*. They point out that the Chilean government does not officially recognize the transfer of chieftainship from the original title holder to a succession of heirs. But this is an ex post facto rationalization, also doubtless reflecting awareness of the legal aspects of the reservation system as well.

One of these young men, however, is now an active member of the *Unión Araucana*, an organization in favor of *división*. He has mustered a sufficient number of household heads to vote in favor of *división*, one-third being the minimum required. A plea for *división* was made before the *Juez de Indios* in 1951, at which time the legal machinery went into action with reference to this specific reservation.

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There has been the inevitable delay in such negotiations, for reasons previously stated.

The chief is opposed to *división*, since he is a large landholder and would stand to lose part of his holdings if the reservation were apportioned into severalties. In his turn, the chief has attempted to gain control of the family heads in opposition to *división*. However, he was not able to muster the more than two-thirds needed to invalidate the petition for *división*. Since there has been delay in dividing the reservation land, though, the less politically enlightened members who are in favor of *división* accuse the chief and his supporters of having bribed the *Juez de Indios*. These individuals were originally followers of the present chief, after his assumption of the title. They backed him because they feared the Chilean government and felt more secure under his leadership. Now they have been reoriented politically by the propaganda of the *Unión Araucana*, mediated to them through one of the most respected members of the community and region. With this shift of allegiance, founded on an awareness that they could possibly acquire more land than they had at present, they withdrew their support from the chief, aligning themselves with the opposition faction. The nucleus of this faction was merely a segment of a sublineage to which the chief belonged, and of which, indeed, he is still a respected elder.

The present political split corresponds very closely to a situation of haves and have-nots with respect to reservation holdings. The ones with little land back the *Unión Araucana* in its protest against the maintenance of the reservation system, although not for many of the *Unión*'s idealistic reasons. The chief, as most chiefs, is allied with conservative political elements represented by the *Corporación Araucana*. I do not suggest that these two Indian parties are characterizable solely in terms of their position in regard to the land policy of the government, although this is the aspect of their platforms which is important to the bulk of the reservation Mapuche. The have-nots, those with insufficient land, therefore, tend to align themselves against the larger landowners and the chief, although they may be equally distrustful of the Chilean government and its elected officials.

In the context of the reservation system and reservation life in general this position with regard to land rights tends to have important repercussions in other spheres of social action. If enough family

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621 621 578 heads are in opposition to the chief on his stand with regard to *división*, his influence in the economic and political spheres of activity tends to diminish. Otherwise, the chief, while perhaps not as important a figure in the organization of agricultural and other labors as formerly, retains a great deal of prestige as a titular organizer and leader, and has very real importance with respect to religious ceremonialism, the organization of fiestas and games, and other activities having a ritual aspect.

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household organization. Tensions are customarily phrased in terms of sorcery. In-married women are notoriously suspect of practicing sorcery in the hope of gaining advantage over other in-married women. Their husbands, especially if they are members of a single sublineage on the reservation, are prone to discount these charges and suspicions. Yet their possibility certainly conditions interpersonal relationships among the core membership of a patrilineage. One simple tension-reducing mechanism is the formation of separate elementary-family households, which permits the continued association of elementary units in a multihousehold compound.

RESERVATION	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953	c. 1900	1953
	EXTENDED[a]		COMPOUND		ELEMENTARY	
Alonqueo	9	4	7	2	7	19
Llancaman	3	3	—	—	4	13
Huilcan	5	1	—	—	1	12
Huenchucoi	8	5	1	2	5	16
Nahuelpan	1	2	1	1	1	5

[a] Adopted children and other relatives in the household complicate the picture, but such households are here considered closer to elementary than other types. In addition, some households are both extended and polygynous and were counted only once — as extended families.

THE ELEMENTARY FAMILY

On Mapuche reservations today the elementary family is becoming the basic agricultural unit. The fact that elementary households outnumber extended and composite households does not necessarily indicate this development, since cooperation may exist between them to a greater or lesser degree. It is, nevertheless, to one's elementary family (of procreation) that primary allegiance is owed. Despite strong ties between the core of patrilineally related males, which involve economic and ceremonial cooperation, modern notions of private property in land and the demands of a cash-credit structure have operated to modify lineage and residential kingroup solidarity. Kinship ties are of great importance beyond the immediate household unit, for example in dyadic relationships on the reservation and in the matrilateral marriage system, but the bonds are of varying significance, depending on the spheres of interest and activity.

The elementary family farming its "own" land, caring for its own cattle and sheep, gauging the profits from its own agricultural pur-

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suits, and so forth, can operate in large measure independently of other households on the reservation. Unmarried sons come under the jurisdiction of their father in all economic activities. While the daughters and the mother are ultimately under the authority of the father as well, the mother enjoys a good deal of independence in the management of the household, the gardens, the barnyard animals, fruit trees, and the like. Indeed, a woman is expected to manage the household smoothly without the husband needing to concern himself with details. And in the domestic sphere the daughters are immediately responsible to their mother.

Sex and age largely determine the allocation of agricultural and domestic responsibilities within the family group. There is cooperation among the members in many matters, and the chores performed by one person complement those of others. The family is a tightly integrated group, especially during the years when children are below the nubile age and parental authority is strongest. As the children grow older, divisive factors might arise within the family, traceable to scarce land and general economic impoverishment and the fear of many parents that their sons and daughters will neglect them in their old age.

The family is integrated in terms of superordination and subordination, with lines of authority running from the father or household head to the other members. When the children are very young, much of the parental authority is shunted through the mother, the father occupying an essentially executive position. The mother is in direct and sustained contact with the children, and her daughters continue to remain under her control until they marry.

Relative age among siblings is important in their relationships and reflects the pattern of superordination and subordination which characterizes the relationship between the father and the other family members. Relative age is given expression in kinship terminology within any classificatory group.

If there is an appreciable difference in age between the oldest son and his brothers, he is usually delegated considerable authority and responsibility by the father. If, as is sometimes the case, there is a gap of ten or more years between brothers, and the elder remains in his father's house, the companionability and unity of interest which tend otherwise to characterize the sibling group are much altered, especially if the father is not in full vigor. The senior brother then may be the work organizer and decision maker, and he will stand to

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rights become established over time according to traditional Mapuche views.

The relatively recent notion of private ownership of land is coming into conflict with the traditional idea of the household as a land-holding unit, and is challenging the extended-family ideal, even though in communities having reservation status no individual titles to land exist. It may be just as a man's married sons are becoming increasingly independent and own-family oriented that their father is approaching senility or death and that the question of inheritance looms large. The land a man's married sons farm to support their own wives and children has been "given" to them at the time they married and, as I shall explain later, constituted the single most important part of bride-price. Only the availability of sufficient land makes marriage possible, and certain rights to this land are accorded a bride in the establishment of lineage rights over her and her children.

While the paterfamilias is alive and in control of his land, his sons operate their shares of it only by his sufferance, and to that extent are under his economic control. The paterfamilias is under moral obligation to make a final legal (*admapu*) transfer of fields to his married sons, but he is also concerned with the welfare of his wife and younger children. There arises some conflict of interest here, and it may cause the dissolution of the extended-family arrangement.

With the death of the paterfamilias, therefore, extended-family solidarity in the economic sphere might receive a fatal blow. Tensions which were effectively restrained while the father lived or was in his vigor might mount and bring about the end of family unity. The historic solution for reducing tension — migration — is no longer feasible. While disgruntled members of an extended family can of course leave the reservation, they must then be prepared to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of hired laborers in Chilean society.

THE COMPOUND FAMILY

Compound families tend to have a polygynous unit and, on this basis alone, differ from both elementary and extended families. A compound polygynous family is composed of several overlapping elementary families, since one man is husband and father in each of the elementary units. Furthermore, another feature which distinguishes compound polygynous families from extended families is that in the

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

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584
836 through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would
848 be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being
578 unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the pri-
558 mary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The [177] notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love
[836] affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[580] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In
68 the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the
[692] national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according
[754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur-
[692] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of
839 adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this
836 practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said
[628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close.
[754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is
[178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the
[628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category
[692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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sixty years over which oral history and genealogies can be compared in detail. Accounts reveal that rather than a lover having been killed at the hands of his sweetheart's irate kinsmen, vengeance was obtained through sorcery and combatted by countermagic in most cases. Professional witches and shamans were the main actors. Furthermore, it seems that many such wrongs were indemnified, especially when it was expedient to maintain good relations between the contending families. It is also apparent that a young man who was considered to have wronged his lover could absolve his family from complicity, to a great extent, by fleeing the region and putting himself outside the range of his father's or lineage elder's authority. Today, this is possible only if one is willing to give up the Mapuche way of life for that of itinerant farm laborer or low-class city worker—outside the reservation system. Even in flight, however, one is not entirely free from sorcery.

More believable accounts of physical vengeance in cases of unrequited love, insofar as one such action was in progress on a reservation I studied in 1953, are those concerning thrashings received by lovers at the hands of incensed relatives of the wronged girl. This should not really be considered feud, since no one is killed and since there is no possible compromise such as payment—no way out short of marriage. There might be a series of fights between various males of the two families involved, but hostilities are not enduring. Furthermore, fighting most often takes place when the men are drunk and meet in public—at ceremonies, fiestas, in town, and so forth. There is no seeking out of a victim, no organized reprisal. Both parties have to be present when feelings are high.

There are several ways in which illicit love affairs may be handled. Three interesting examples follow. The first tells of an affair between members of different sublineages of a patrilineal group which was effectively brought to an end before complications could develop. The second involves an incestuous relationship which resulted in pregnancy. The third, a supernatural and nonfamilial attempt of an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her lover.

In the first example the young man and woman were cousins, members of the same localized lineage, although of different segments. Their parents were classificatory siblings. The important feature here is that of tacitly condoning sexual intercourse between members of the incest group when such activity seems certain not to be leading toward marriage. It is considered dangerous nevertheless, because of

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582 601 613 structuring manifest in lineage growth and localization in the immediate postreservation period, and reflected in the development of Omaha kinship terminology in at least one sector of Araucanía, was as yet only embryonic in the late prereservation era. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the system of kinship terminology there was a "breakthrough" from a generational to a nongenerational type only in reference to the category of mother's brother's daughter (Faron, 1956:442, diagram, and 1961).

Initially, the fact that mother's brother's daughter came to be called by the same term as patrilineally related females of her parental generation seems directly related to the marriage practices. Emphasis on lineal aspects of lumping together females of a wife-giving group appears to have developed only after the reservation system stabilized local descent groups. It is only after this localization and expansion of group membership developed that it might be said that kinship terminology primarily reflected the unity of the lineage group, rather than essentially symbolizing patterned cross-generational marriage. Not until the postreservation period is it realistic to speak of institutionalized wife-giving and wife-receiving groups.

Diagram IV, 2, represents a condition which I take to be a transitional phase between a pattern of widespread polygyny and late marriage, on the one hand, and that of declining polygyny and earlier marriage, on the other, which developed in conjunction with reservation living. Kingroups increased in membership and broadened at the base through the localization of segments and became fixed in relation to homologous groups on other reservations. Intermarriage between these groups became sustained over several generations.

[595] [598] Various postreservation economic developments favored a decline in polygynous households. The availability of wives for young men increased, and some of the tensions between alternate generations engendered by competition for wives diminished. The factor of scarce land or, conversely, the limitations on mobility, imposed by the reservation system, seems to have been incompatible with the acquisition of multiple wives by males of the parental generation within the narrow confines of reservation life.

Diagram IV, 3, merely shows the structural changes which have come about with reference to one's mother's patrilineage, rather than with the full range of wife-giving and wife-receiving groups. A man continues to find his best opportunities for marriage in a matrilateral framework. Matrilateral marriage has tended to perpetuate itself not

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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754 182 [578] insofar as it helps to maintain the structure of Mapuche society. In any case, sorcery and the practice of evil, even the concern with its existence, is as much the result as the cause of tensions in the social structure.

121 796 For certain needs only public ritual suffices. For other needs, equally good from a moral standpoint, public ritual is either inefficacious or unfeasible. Once the functional aspects of *ñillatun*, for example, and *machitun* (shamanistic performance) are analyzed, there is little point in attempting to draw a hard and fast line between the religious and the magical beliefs and activities involved in either ceremony. It is important, however, to discern differences in the groups regularly involved. Likewise, with reference to social groups, it is more rewarding to examine similarities and differences in *ñillatun* and *awn* (funeral rites) on the one hand, and *machitun* and *kalkutun* (sorcerer's séance) on the other, and then to analyze the relationships between these two sets of ritual activity, than to dichotomize the essentially unitary field of magico-religious belief and action.

IV

121 182 577 602 779 What constitutes Mapuche morality? All institutionalized behavior is in concordance with the moral order which permeates society, aberrant behavior being defined in relation to departure from this code. Patterned kinship relationships are moral relationships, in this sense, and social interaction between nonkin is as well conditioned by the general order of moral values. A single moral system, therefore, defines proper and improper relationships throughout Mapucheland, among Mapuche themselves, and between Mapuche and outsiders (*winka*). This moral code is in turn anchored to the relationship which exists between the living and the dead, the rights and duties which exist between them in the context of Mapuche religious lore. Morality has supernatural sanction. It is the supernatural sanctions of the moral system expressed in life relationships with which this study is most concerned—specifically those human relationships which may be described as ritual or ceremonial.

121 The total moral order is most easily understood and most conveniently discussed with respect to an examination of its

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Dominant lineages have increased in size (breadth) to a greater extent than most subordinate lineages, remaining dominant in terms of actual numerical membership and by virtue of lineal descendence from the original chief, the title holder of reservation land. This dominance seems contingent on the fact that they controlled land at the time of registration and because they were in a strong enough position to be able to validate this claim over successive generations. Members of the subordinate lineages were often forced to leave the reservation under pressure of the dominant group, which could lay claim to rights of inheritance from the original chief whenever any issue arose about clearing and using new land. Members of subordinate lineages are sometimes, in anger, called *winka* (outsider), there by sufferance of the founding chief, rather than as members of the legitimate descent group.

An important result of this relationship is that the structure and composition of subordinate lineages is generally different from that of dominant lineages on most reservations—at least on those reservations where problems of population pressure arose soon after registration. Graphically, the base of a subordinate lineage tends to be much narrower than that of the dominant one, since many of its members have moved off the reservation, while those of the dominant group, having a greater stake in the community and more easily validated rights to the acquisition of land through inheritance, have remained and reared their families there. These subordinate lineages, however, are very tightly integrated groups. They are small, and their members stand as a unit in opposition (no active hostility implied) to the several segments of the larger and more internally differentiated dominant lineage. Subordinate lineages, in terms of the relationships among their members, are highly comparable to smaller segments of the dominant lineage, to a discussion of which I now turn.

Subhouseholds

Diagram II, depicting a maximal lineage segmented into its sublineages, approximates "ethnographic reality" and differs importantly from Diagram I, which is a model of maximal lineage structure. Nevertheless, the same structural principles

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apply. The essential difference is that the minimal requirements of the model are here given over to an approximation of actual reservation kingroups, segmented into branches of most closely related kinsmen. The horizontal emphasis is impressive, and is without doubt the expression of an expanding local population.

It will be remembered that, for the purpose of economic cooperation, the entire lineage group is less frequently involved than it was generations ago, as its segments tend to be so organized today. This is a factor of its internal differentiation, in the process of which authority has become more diffuse in matters of a practical nature. I speak especially of lines of authority running between members in relationships such as uncle-nephew, cousins, and so forth, rather than in a metaphysical sense with respect to moral authority, vested in the deceased founder of the lineage, authority which splays out from the founding ancestor to all living descendants.

It is with regard both to practical and to moral considerations that membership in a patrilineal descent group is valued by the residential unit. But in looking at the practical economic or political motives *of the individuals in residence*, we see that there are lines of fission which serve to differentiate the membership into segments of most closely related males. It is mainly among these most closely related kinsmen that really bitter disputes arise over matters of land-use rights and inheritance in general. A very good case can be made for the frequent occurrence of such disputes during the historical era, in which the Mapuche were physically mobile and when disaffected parties could easily move away from natal groups. Today, *if one wishes to remain a member of the Mapuche world*, this solution *is* no longer possible.

Serious dissension within sublineages sometimes results in one brother or cousin relinquishing rights (almost always to land) to the others and moving off the reservation. I do not mean to give the impression that this sort of rupture occurs frequently today, or that such disputes necessarily constitute a permanent rupture in relationships. But the fact is, nevertheless, that when this occurs, one of the members of the sublineage gives up his Mapuche heritage. In most cases the person who relinquishes

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613 621 425 rights to land receives some form of compensation. This may be a lump settlement in cash, or a piecemeal payment over a number of years, or it may be a long-term verbal agreement in which the person who moves off the reservation is to receive a share of the produce from so-and-so many acres of land.

613 621 627 578 These fallings-out between close relatives may be called business disputes, since they are almost always of a direct economic origin. But there are moral issues involved also, and it is significant that so many of these disputes are settled by monetary recompense, rather than leading to litigation in Chilean courts (although this occurs) or to the practice of witchcraft by one or both parties to gain advantage over the other (although this, too, happens). In a hard-headed business sense, members of these sublineages contest each other's rights not infrequently, but there is always the real possibility that matters will be resolved amicably on the basis of a recognition of ultimate individual rights, arising from the closeness of the kinship bond among the disputants. Such matters are most always settled within the small sublineages; rarely is an appeal for arbitration made to elders of other sublineages on the reservation, except for disputes between members of different sublineages.

613 182 There is, then, this note of moral responsibility—a consideration of the birth rights of kinsmen within the context of Mapuche morality—which is sounded even in the most bitter economic hassles. Looking at the force which constrains such disputants to make peace with each other takes us into a consideration of the total maximal lineage. It is the essentially noneconomic, nonpolitical system of religious morality which makes fusion of the sublineages desirable and possible, and which gives the strongly unilinear form to the higher generations. Contention among members of the localized lineage is confined to the lower generational levels, in matters of a practical nature. The collateral lines collapse, however, and approximate the model form of the maximal lineage, because it is essential for the living membership to converge on a common ancestor as directly as possible. This need overrides divisive tendencies which stem from the mundane sphere of social action. The rake-toothed maximal lineage diagrammed to ap-

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554 and the one which must pay for them.[a] This is expressed in
602 kinship terminology. Men of the wife-giving group refer to
613 wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (*ñillan*: to
583 purchase; also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly
571 translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call
[60] those whom they pay for wives *weku* (roughly, maternal uncle).
These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which
serves to identify wife-receivers as *ñillan* and wife-givers as *weku*,
regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any
individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and ritually solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.[b] The bridepríce payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

684 A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl,
and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the
company of one or more of his elder kinsmen or sends them in
584 his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their proposal comes
213 under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her
father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced
by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

[578] [a] I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to ignore, and causes them to associate *ñillan* with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter notion is something of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (above).

[754] [b] In speaking of bridepríce and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly *ñi*, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving loom, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-conversion phenomenon which took on after farm land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some substantive exchange is necessary for consecrating the marriage contract (see Faron 1961:207).

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The young man assented to this demand, at the same time asking the witranalwe to help him carry the sheep back to the house. As soon as they arrived at the young man's house, he told the witranalwe to return in a little while for the blood. The nephew killed the sheep and drained the blood into a wooden bowl. He set both the bowl and a pitcher of wine outside the house for the witranalwe. The witranalwe approached at a gallop, drank the fluids at one gulp, and then toured off the wine. When he finished, he galloped off to the uncle's corral to keep watch over his master's sheep. He never revealed the secret to his master.

There is a good deal of bravado in this account, but it is apparent from this and similar stories that ordinary people can deal successfully with supernatural agents, provided they are alert, courageous, and take advantage of what the situation offers. Other encounters with witranalwe are often more lugubrious, but I have heard rather humorous stories as well. The Mapuche jokingly call witranalwe the mounted Chilean policemen, who sometimes ride the roads at night between towns, dressed in their white tunics and astride large army horses. It seems not so much a matter of individual mood and attitude about supernatural encounters that accounts for a sprinkling of levity in recounting tales of meetings with witranalwe and other wekufe, as it does the specifics of the situation. The situation is the governing factor. Alone at night, the spectre is terrifying. After a startling experience, people can return to the relative security of the fireside and make jokes about the evil spirits. They are overpowered, however, and must be dealt with continually. The details of the story of the uncle and his nephews lend themselves to an interpretation dealing with feelings of hostility against authority figures, such as the paternal uncle.

People are captured bodily by certain spirits, one of which is the ckonpalwe described earlier. In the Limonifo region, south of Lake Villarrica, there was a tale being told during my residence of a young woman lost to a mulé ckonpalwe. A woman's foot was discovered near a mountain stream, and people in the vicinity remembered hearing a strange cry from that locality some weeks before, while walking the road at night. The girl is said to have gone to the stream to place a food

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lineage sisters to wide-ranging groups. The more wide-ranging the marriage ties of his lineage (and they are increasing moreover) and especially of his sublineage and immediate family, the greater the number of different groups represented at his funeral. The least closely related of those persons and groups are those which are most suspected of having had a hand in the death of a lineage mate or his wife.* This is a fact of which they are fully aware themselves, and all must appear at the funeral services in order to free themselves from this shadow of doubt by speaking the praises of the dead (*wenglen*). If any of these people have had a serious falling out with the deceased and have threatened him at any time in the past, the other participants at the funeral are particularly alert to their behavior, especially to the words they speak over the coffin or at the wake. Responsible participation is accepted by the Mapuche as good evidence of freedom from guilt, since it is felt that a person responsible for another's death would be very reluctant to make an appearance at his funeral, for fear of being caught out and having vengeance-by-witchcraft rebound on himself.

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I purposely emphasize the compulsory aspects of responsibility to participate in funeral services. It is accepted by the Mapuche that much of the funeral party participates in order to speed the new spirit along a straight road to the halcyon otherworld. It is also recognized that all present partake of food and drink in abundance as an inevitable part of the ceremony. It is through this communion of guiltfellowship that the social solidarity necessary to the success of the funeral rite is established.

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Nowadays, there is no compensation sought in cases of death. If blame is fixed on any individual at all, this is solely the responsibility of a very small group of the closest patrilineal

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* This attitude appears to be a latent function of sorcery in the normal order of things. It tends to maintain the status quo by making it easy and easy, even for a man in every way a fully-established, wide-going group. We therefore have a collaboration of moral obligations by reciprocal and multiple alliance between two localized lineages, and the collaboration of the resulting allied ties among the membership. The concordance of alliance groupings with ritual congregations, to the extent that this occurs between fairly close and neutral relationships, by leading to a greater social standing and trust, which makes for more successful transactions mediated by the moral order.

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kinsmen of the deceased. The overwhelming tendency is for the group of surviving relatives to show that harm came from outside its own lineage (and reservation) and that death was caused by the vague, generalized forces of evil, the weluſe. The fact that these forces of evil are capable of malevolence is mentioned time and again. Placing the blame entirely outside the residential group and, finally, determining that the most closely related affines are innocent of complicity has an obvious function in maintaining harmonious relationships which have been threatened by death and evil-doing. Formal emphasis is placed on the consecration of the entire group of relatives present or represented. After the funeral ceremony has progressed for several hours and ceremonial wine has flowed, the ideal tranquility tends to give way to occasional interpersonal animosities. While the formal statement of the funeral ceremony absolves all the participants from guilt, individuals never fail to form private notions about culpability. The circle of suspicion is never really broken, and it sometimes cross-cuts the closest ties of affinity, contrary to cultural ideals. Upon closer inspection, it is seen that these ties are cross-cut in especially significant ways.

Mapuche recognize that if their relationship to their ancestors were perfect, there would be little to fear from the forces of evil. Neglect or offense of ancestral spirits is, therefore, the greatest—ultimately, the only—crime, the only moral wrong they are able to commit. Any person is responsible to his lineage ancestors, a responsibility with which he complies on numerous occasions in his lifetime. He also has a set of ancestors who are affinally related to his lineage. This is an ill-defined set of spirits, which are by no means equally propitiated during one's lifetime. The major responsibility for their propitiation is acknowledged to rest with their own lineal descendants. A man, for example, knows that the spirits of certain wife-giving groups are regularly propitiated, since these groups (or most of them) constitute segments of the ritual congregation to which he himself belongs. There are wife-givers, however, who no longer maintain sanctioned marital relationships with his lineage, affinal links having been established in the past and then not renewed through subsequent marriages. And, perhaps, even more importantly, there are groups who formerly received wives, but no longer

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761 maintain this sort of relationship. These groups fall outside the
769 ritual congregation. They seldom attend its funeral services.
602 There are stories which rationalize the breakdown of relation-
613 ships with these groups, laying the blame upon them. Little is
578 actually known about their contemporary membership, who are relative strangers. One's own closest relatives are not suspected of having been instrumental in causing death by witchcraft; and complete strangers would have little or no cause to do so. Therefore, the reasoning continues, persons related through an attenuated, half-forgotten affinal link are interested strangers, who are capable of wishing and perpetrating mortal harm. [783] Unrelated neighbors also fall under suspicion, but they usually clear themselves by participation in the communal funeral service.

754 Witchcraft practiced between members of a lineage is not
578 unknown. It also occurs between nonrelated persons co-resident
613 on a reservation, or in adjacent reservation communities. It not
602 only occurs, but it is an almost continual occurrence. In-
613 married women are in fact notorious practitioners against one another, especially in the absence of lineal ties among them or their husbands. Almost anybody may fall under suspicion at one time or another. But this practice is not for the purpose of causing death. In no case of which I am aware was a charge of homicidal sorcery levied against a lineage member, member of a wife-giving or wife-receiving group in sustained relationship, or a nonrelated person in the category of neighbor of long standing—all of whom are members, by and large, of the same ritual congregation. Thus, suspicion is again cast on the distant groups (physically and socially) related through marriage a few generations ago, or those related through a random marriage. A group in this category becomes the isolate agreed upon in any discussion of moral culpability in death.

761 The only other logical explanation of death is the irresponsible
794 action of the freewheeling forces of evil, one of the collectivity
624 of *wekufe*. The comforting nature of this thought, vis-à-vis the
182 solidarity of the ritual congregation and its lineal and residential segments, is apparent. The local group is absolved of murder. [769] The moral community is at peace with itself. The total assemblage at any funeral propitiates specific ancestral spirits

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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the other) remained away from the *ñillatun*. They were not invited and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [155] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even 754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous 626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households [596] [606] between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related [609] patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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kingroup is great enough so that no previous hostility need have been expressed. Not all of these charges are of equal weight, however. It is felt that people do not always mean what they say and that calling a person a witch is, in a fit of temper or while drunk, no more than a very cutting remark, one which may be shrugged off unless repeated on several occasions and taken seriously by others.

The innumerable stories about witchcraft seem exaggerated if one measures them against the actual charges of witchcraft made within earshot during a year's residence with the Mapuche. Even the assumption that many accusations have not come to the investigator's attention does not seem to reconcile the apparent disparity between witchcraft stories and actual events. The stories support the fears of the people, and the fears are obvious even apart from the stories. There seem to be two possible explanations for the disparity. Either the stories are wholly fictitious, in which case they would still be important and in a sense "real," or they are the accumulation of generations. Judging from internal evidence—such as accounts of witchburning—they are at least partly the accumulation of generations and represent the heritage of the contemporary Mapuche. To some extent this means that, while witchcraft is undeniably of great importance, fears are kept within certain bounds and, as generalized fears, are not disruptive to the solidarity of any single community.

Of significance in this regard is one case in which I, as a resident in an involved household, was particularly cognizant. It concerned a falling-out between two minimal lineages, adjacent extended-family households, on a multilineage reservation. Specifically, a young man contested his father's brother's claim to farm implements and some land left as undeclared property by the deceased. Both uncle and nephew called each other a witch on every occasion they met, and referred to each other as such. They complained to the rest of the community that each was a practicing sorcerer, was killing animals, causing crops to spoil, sending *wekufe* disguised as rats to eat the grain in the cribs, and many similar things. A great breach of etiquette was involved, since the nephew showed such disrespect for a lineage elder who was a very close relative. Still, few people took these

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754 accusations seriously, saying that the old man was hot-headed
578 and the young man wrong-headed. Even so, there had been no mention of an attempt to kill by witchcraft, an accusation which would certainly have been disruptive to the entire community. It is only with regard to the more petty annoyances that charges of witchcraft are levied against such a close relative.

754 Another instance indicates how a serious charge was tailored
578 by the community so that the status quo could be maintained.
62 This concerns a man and his married sister. The man claimed, in a fit of anger and fear, that his own sister had attempted to poison him. She had made a visit from her husband's reservation and had spent a few days in her brother's house. One day she left, and shortly afterward her brother became ill and vomited the food she had prepared for him. None of the other members of the household or of the entire lineage, for that matter, felt that the man's sister was responsible, and they fixed blame on her husband, who, they said, had bewitched her into administering the poison. The man swore to avenge himself on his sister's husband, but did not speak of *any* action against her. Rather, several of the man's relatives said that the thing to do would be to bring the woman back to live with her brother, because it was obvious that she was living with an evil man.

754 Given the rampant fear of sorcery, it is understandable that a
755 *machi* who had a falling-out with someone would be especially feared, since she has power. There is no reason why she could not use it against someone who has wronged her, although it is generally felt that *machi*, as professionals, are too morally responsible to engage in vengeance lightly. There is always the possibility that the *machi* might think the person who has injured her is a *kalku*. Be that as it may, there is some room for confusing the forces of good and evil when a person is laboring under fear of witchcraft. But there is really little room for confusion when the *machi* and *kalku* are considered with respect to their long-term, regular, professional activities. Quite simply, *machi* are not considered professional sorcerers. Also, it is felt that *machi* are fearful of *kalku*, and that the reverse is not true. This, again, at least by implication, places the *machi* in the camp of goodness and right.

754 The *kalku* operates most effectively from her *ruka*, her house,

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693 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they 754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to 152 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in 578 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members 591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 752 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:730), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supernatural component. That of [172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *rewa*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition [184] of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in

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sorcery, as these apply to different social groupings in Mapuche society.

On inquiring into the prevalance of witchcraft, I was sometimes told that people nowadays regard the usual illnesses as a result of natural causes, but in all cases this statement was refuted by the unguarded statements and actions of the very informants who provided this sophisticated judgment. Such a reversal itself speaks for the prevalence of a concern with sorcery. If in fact the fear of sorcery has diminished, its incidence in the past must have been astounding. I can say that roughly 20 percent of the population (at least 50 percent of the adults) on each of the five reservations I studied in detail had at one time or another used sorcery to gain advantage over others. On two other reservations, one that had been divided recently into severalty holdings, and another which was undergoing division, almost 75 percent of the adult population had been accused openly, or themselves had levied charges, of sorcery. Most of the charges were made by women against other women, and on each reservation there was at least one old crone whom nearly everybody suspected of being a witch. The intensity of feeling apparently rose and fell according to whether there seemed to be renewed cause for suspicion. Nearly every adult female above the age of forty had visited a *machi* at least once in her life, some women fifteen or twenty times, although I am not certain if all such visits were for the purpose of getting supernatural cures against sorcery. I suspect that sometimes no more than medicinal remedies were sought. While it is very difficult to obtain information about the number of people who have engaged the services of a *kalku* or have themselves practiced witchcraft, it is a relatively simple matter to tabulate the number of times each person engaged the services of a *machi* for cure or protection. Although this is no more than indirect evidence of the prevalence of witchcraft, it indicates that nearly every person who reaches maturity has some experience with the supernatural which requires shamanistic assistance.

Mapuche achieve some measure of integration by picturing themselves prey to out-group sorcerers, whether the point of reference be the lineage, the residential kingroup, the reserva-

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tion, the ritual congregation, or total Mapuche society. But this feeling is associated mainly with murder-by-witchcraft. Maliciousness short of murder is the thing which continually engages the attention of any person or group. The practice of sorcery or the fear of it tends to correlate with interpersonal or intergroup tensions, which means that relatives, neighbors, and local Chileans are suspected of witchcraft. The more intimate the bond of kinship or friendship, the more unlikely that fears of homicidal sorcery will exist. Thus, the most devastating supernatural influences emanate from without the group, however the group be defined. With regard to the merely malicious as distinguished from the lethal aspects of sorcery, and even though the professional sorcerer be an outsider, the ill-wisher is usually a member of the community. The community may be the residential kingroup, the reservation, or the ritual congregation.

Wealthy men and poor, old, widowed women tend to shoulder the brunt of suspicion and accusation of being witches. However, a wealthy man (*ülmen*) is seldom openly charged. His wife might be accused of practicing sorcery for her husband's benefit, or the man might be said to have *witranalwe* in his service, not to do harm but to guard his possessions against his neighbors—an affront to the community. Poor, aged widows are favorite targets for charges of sorcery and are felt to be witches themselves, whereas it is believed that most other coresidents merely hire the services of a *kalku*, having little or no power themselves. Unless such a woman is felt to be especially dangerous and troublesome, she will not be evicted. It is usually hoped that she will soon die and that her spirit will go elsewhere, a matter on which I have already touched.

The wealthy and the extremely poor, especially widows who have survived their children and who, of course, are only affinally related to core members of the lineage, are the ones who are peripheral to the community. Wealthy men tend to have more land and animals; widows, perhaps more land than they are felt to need. They exemplify evil, but rather than being evicted or harmed, they are maligned, shunned, ridiculed. Fear of Chilean police power is partly responsible for this, I feel, but it is not the only reason why suspected members of the community are not dealt with more harshly.

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community are not dealt with more harshly. A witch is a terrible person whom no one undertakes to harm without the backing of the entire community.

Within one's own patrilineage the fear of sorcery being practiced for the purpose of murder, illness, or injury is negligible, although one may expect certain animosities to result in the practice of sorcery for the purpose of causing crop damage, loss of animals and other valued objects, and so forth. Actually, I know of no case in which murder-by-witchcraft was charged between members of the same lineage. And one's enemy within the lineage does not practice sorcery himself, as a rule, but engages the services of a *kalku* to inflict the harm. In these cases the sorcerer is usually a person living on a "distant reservation," as the explanation goes, and is difficult or impossible to discover; and one's enemy, if he does not reveal himself, cannot be identified easily. Since one may never be certain of his enemy in such cases, fears tend to subside as one's fortune improves.

The minimum solidarity necessary for the localized lineage to operate in group activities would be greatly endangered should sorcery leading to murder or serious illness be practiced by one member against another. If such a suspicion was apparently confirmed, there would almost certainly be a concerted effort to expel the evildoer. If the intended victim were to murder the alleged sorcerer, the act would be considered as an execution (previously discussed) and sanctioned by the responsible lineage members. But these rules emerge from stories of such happenings in the past, not, to my knowledge, from events in contemporary Mapuche society. In most instances, people would be satisfied with evicting the evildoer; or, in some cases, with an appeal made to the *Juez de Indios* or a criminal court to resolve the matter within the framework of Chilean law.

Accusations of witchcraft do arise within the lineage, but between members of its branches. The members of sublineages—father, sons, and grandsons—are as a rule the most tightly integrated group above the level of elementary family organization. Indeed, these persons might even comprise a *lofche* or an extended-family group. The greatest danger to sublineage solidarity results from land shortage, which affects not so much inheritance (which tends to be equal among a man's sons) as it

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does the ability of the several sons to marry (thereby achieving fully adult status in the community) and support their families on the land which is part of their birthright. The difficulties which are apt to arise from situations of this sort are usually resolved by some of the males emigrating for the good of the rest. The ones who leave are most often those who are dissatisfied with reservation life; so the decision is not altogether altruistic (since parents exert pressure on their sons not to leave) and may even serve as a pretext, in limited cases, for withdrawing from humdrum reservation routine. Nevertheless, that it happens with such frequency speaks for sublineage solidarity rather than for dissension. In this setting, mutual accusations of witchcraft between males of the sublineage rarely if ever occur. Between lineage segments, however, charges of sorcery arise over land disputes, the inheritance of certain economic goods, and other matters of concern to the agnatic core. Feelings of hostility are occasionally intense, but, to my knowledge, sorcery is always geared merely to give one party advantage over the other in whatever claims gave rise to the dispute. Attempted murder is never charged.

There is a noticeable difference when it comes to charges and countercharges of sorcery at the level of the residential kingroup, a structure which would be expected to be less integrated than the localized core of agnates. The most striking thing is that women bear the brunt of suspicion of engaging in sorcery, an attitude also apparent in the themes and *dramatis personae* of folk tales concerning witchcraft. Mutual accusations are made mostly among women, to the near exclusion of men. For the most part, there are hostilities and jealousies between in-married women and females of the lineage, but the greatest fears and charges involve the in-married women themselves. They are the weakest links in the structure of group solidarity.

But too frequent charges of sorcery, even among these females, would put too much strain on the minimal harmonious relationships necessary for the residential kingroup to be an effective entity in certain kinds of economic cooperation, political activity, and religious ceremonial. The potentially disruptive forces are minimized somewhat by the system of matrilateral marriage, whereby some of the women are lineage sisters who

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754 are obliged to recognize a certain measure of common sentiment involved in traditional kinship etiquette. Furthermore, 598 women standing in such relationship are generally married to 618 members of the same sublineage, among whom we have already 613 noted a high degree of solidarity and an absence of fear from 182 supernatural harm by their closest kinsmen. Long common 582 residence among in-married women is quite important in establishing bonds of friendship which inspire trust. In this regard, it seems significant that the younger generation of wives is suspicious of the older women, whereas among the older women themselves the relationships are generally rather amicable.

754 Serious charges brought against his wife involves a man in 598 entanglements over sorcery. Men tend to avoid such embroil- 593 ments by decomphasizing the importance of the accusations [618] made by members of the residential kingroup, and, to the extent that they involve their wives and kinswomen, explain the animosities and fears in psychological terms of maladjustment, in a manner which is rather sophisticated in itself or, perhaps, detracts from the supposed sophistication of such explanations. A man might become incensed at his wife for stirring up trouble among his kinmen over unfounded fears. Consequently, with an eye to maintaining domestic harmony, wives tend not to bother their husbands with their fears of sorcery and the accusations that others have made, since the men almost inevitably show annoyance or anger. Instead, one finds that [626] there are whispering campaigns among the women against those who are suspected of being witches or of engaging their services. Husbands are only partly attuned to the situation since the charges are rarely made openly and tend not to come to the public eye, since murder is not involved.

593 Even though there are more accusations of sorcery among 754 in-married women, there is rarely fear of murder or serious 598 illness. Co-wives might work love magic against one another to [618] gain preference with their husband, or one might seek to cause [642] another to become sterile. This is no great problem in Mapuche- [178] land, however, because of the marked decline in polygynous households. In all cases, however, polygynous or otherwise, it is usually a matter of one woman gaining advantage over another.

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However, there is a strong tendency on the part of women to accuse each other of actually being witches themselves, rather than merely hiring the services of a *kalku*. It is, of course, difficult to determine how seriously all such accusations are taken, since many charges of witchcraft are made in the heat of the moment and designed to be as hurtful as possible. They seem to be doubted and minimized by the men. Sometimes it is said that sorcery is a women's delight, a principal item of gossip, and little more. Husbands would rather not become involved in such matters. If they do, they first recriminate with their own wives, preferring to dissuade them of their notions and fears, while discussing the matter in a rather rational manner (given their basic assumptions) with other men. This is always a male solution. Women tend to engage the services of a *machi* to obtain protection from sorcery, or the services of a *kalku* to perform counter black magic against the alleged (and sometimes self-confessed) evildoer.

On a multilineage reservation I expected to find a higher incidence of sorcery practiced between unrelated lineages than within them. As far as I could discover, this is not the case. I believe this is a fair expression of reservation-community solidarity, a result of long-term residence and cooperative ventures in which common interests have been extolled—and that it is characteristic of reservations having a ritually active priesthood. Those unrelated lineages are given kinship status through the extension of generational kin terms and through the voluntary imposition of reservation exogamy. These features speak for community integration with respect to the amalgamation of distinct lineage groups, the emphasis on community membership having the effect of reducing social discord. Members of unrelated coresident lineages, nevertheless, are more often accused of being witches themselves than is the case within one's own lineagroup. Sometimes suspicions of murder-by-witchcraft arise but, as far as I could learn (on two of the five reservations where specific charges had been made) these were resolved, at least to the extent that they did not lead to feud or attempted preventative murder in reprisal. In short, they did not have serious consequences.

On the intercommunal level, fear of witchcraft seems to

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754 628 578 On the intercreservational level, fear of witchcraft seems to involve, more often than not, groups to which one is related through marriage, or adjacent groups whether so related or not. However this may be, it is clear that social relationships have to exist before there is a fear of witchcraft which permeates the community or a segment of it. I can think of no exception to this on the level of group relationships. Hostile encounters with strangers—an individual matter—also give rise to fears that sorcery will be practiced against one. These fears, however, are usually short-lived if nothing seems to come from the encounter.

754 621 578 Groups affiliated through a single marriage or through marriages contracted several generations ago and then not subsequently renewed are those more often involved in mutual accusations of murder-by-witchcraft than any other segments of Mapuche society; and each group is felt to have its own *kalku*. These are the most serious of all charges involving sorcery. Actually, though, the more petty, nonhomicidal ones which occur between in-married women are generally more troublesome, since they are disruptive of ingroup relationships, involving as they do coresidents. Intrareservational embroilments, when two unrelated kingroups are involved, threaten community existence, since they might lead to a petition for the dissolution of the reservation as a corporate landholding entity. While placing the blame for homicidal sorcery outside the reservation surely serves to lessen the possibility of internal discord on these grounds, internal bickerings which involve minor accusations of sorcery are disruptive to the community. One cannot conclude, then, that sorcery (taken as an undifferentiable whole) is either disruptive or integrative, with respect to the structure of local groups. The kind of sorcery must always be considered.

754 731 769 782 [794] General calamity, such as epidemic, illness, or crop failure, is not viewed as resulting from the practice of sorcery for specific ends. Rather it is attributed to the forces of evil and a failure on the part of the community to make proper supplication of their ancestors and the pantheon of gods. During time of general strife, people rally in *nillatun* rites, if this is feasible, or prepare for *nillatun* when the propitious moment arrives. A very capable *machi* of the Temuco region complained to me that during a period of general trouble the people came to her only for medicinal cures and held expensive *nillatun* to meet the general

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parties in which they appear as titular heads, doing little or no work themselves. The *lonko* who is also *fillatufe* receives abundant quantities of food, not as payment for his services to the congregation (as is the case with the *machi*) nor as a gift, but, rather, as his due levy—with the understanding that this food will be distributed for ritual purposes.

Kona and *lonko* are related as junior and senior, but the junior-senior dichotomy is expressed in a number of other ways as well. The use of kinship terms expresses the superiority of the senior members of society (uncles, fathers, grandfathers) to whom respect is accorded by all others. The same kinship idiom is extended to groups of relatives in the marriage alliance system. Males of the wife-giving unit are called *weku* (maternal uncle), which is a respectful designation, whereas males of the wife-receiving group are called *fillon* ("the one who has purchased"), at best a designation of inferior social status.

Titiev mentioned that there was a feeling of "latent hostility" with respect to *fillon*, and that this person (emphasizing the individual) is considered as a "potential traitor" (1951:48). These facts might be interpreted to greater advantage as indicating that certain wife-receiving groups or segments of any large wife-receiving group are placed in a relatively suspect social position in which more than social inferiority is implied. These are the wife-receiving groups which have not maintained sustained marriage ties in the matrilateral system, or those just initiating such alliance, and which, because of that, might be suspected of actually practicing homicidal sorcery. It is members of such receiving groups who must put in an appearance at funeral ceremonies of the lineage who formerly provided them with wives, or else they bear the brunt of general suspicion and possible retaliation. It is their failure to meet former obligations of ritual participation which lays suspicion upon them, just as the fulfillment of such obligation has the opposite effect with respect to units which have maintained sustained and multiple intermarriages over several generations. In their obligation to bury in-married women in the same ground as lineal ancestors is symbolized a dualistic separation of the two descent groups and the commitment of the socially inferior group to sustain the responsibility and cost which burial entails.

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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (on well-functioning reservations) and, in any case, are forced to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapucheland, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservation. In some cases, when feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the oppositions name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The asymmetry of gift-given to gift-receiven is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as nuftún and kawiñtun, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the core ceremony an example of the obligations associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (rukül), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead; in return the proper bestowal of rukü binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relationship asymmetricality of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians 564
Pehuenches

The jealousy existing between Foyel and Chocupe, which 578
had broken out in the disturbance so nearly fatal to my cousins, had existed ever since the migration of this chief and Quintelmal to the south, and all the Araucanos of their following kept themselves on this occasion as much as possible aloof, and abstained from sharing in the jovialities, while the Tehuelches, who were unconcerned in the matter, enjoyed themselves freely.

The next day Foyel and Quintelmal marched off their followers in regular array, and proceeded homewards followed by many of the Tehuelches, the great races which it had been settled to hold being abandoned in consequence of the uneasy state of feeling and the consequent fears of a quarrel: the fight in that case would have been an obstinate one, as Chocupe's forces would not have been much too strong for their opponents, although outnumbering them. We had been surprised on arriving not to find more Indians ready to receive us, as we only counted ninety lances, but it transpired that some were concealed in the woods by the side of the river, who did not appear; besides these, seventy or a hundred men had gone to Patagones to obtain their chief's ration of cattle, but 300 more, friends and relations of Foyel, who were on their march to the rendezvous at Las Manzanas, had turned back on hearing of the attack made by Chocupe's party on their friends, my cousins. Whether they remained away in order to be neutral or to come to the support of their kinsmen did not appear, but Foyel had frequently boasted that 300 of Chocupe's followers would espouse his quarrel. The Pincheiras were the original cause of the feud. This 619
tribe, converted by Antonio Guaiti, who gave them the name 579
of Chollo, to be a branch of the Araucanians, are under Chocupe's dominion, though governed by local caciques. As already mentioned, they live near the passes of the Cordillera and plunder all travellers. They had not respected Foyel's messenger bringing him stores from Valdivia, and at last forcibly removed two sheepskins of rum, on which

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occasion some fighting ensued. Thereupon Foyel sent Chiuqupe a defiant message to the effect that if any more robberies by his subjects took place, he should make reprisals; that the latter chief must have imagined that he (Foyel) had forgotten how to ride and use his lance. All this was subsequently amicably settled, but in the end Foyel, who was by right under the rule of Chiuqupe, preferred to throw off his allegiance and retire across the Rio Limay. The chief reason alleged by him was that although Chiuqupe received large rations of cattle from the Buenos Ayrean Government, he never thought fit to share them with his subordinate chiefs. How far these stories were true I cannot say; as to the Pioneches and their subjection to Chiuqupe, the Valdivians had been detained over a year waiting for a safe-conduct, which was obtained on the eve of our arrival, and as far as could be afterwards ascertained, they passed unmolested, although probably suffering loss of cattle from the weather, as it was full late in the year to cross the passes, which during the winter are obstructed by snow and swollen rivers.

Antonio and Ventura Delgado assured me that they would have to cross one river seven times owing to its tortuous windings, and on every occasion be obliged to swim their animals. This I had first fancied to be a branch of the Rio Limay, but in answer to other inquiries the Valdivians stated that it flowed to the westward. Apropos of this route, an enterprising German had some short time previously crossed from Valdivia to trade with the Indians; he was allowed to pass unmolested with all his merchandise, and drove a profitable trade, and at last started on his return journey with a goodly stock of horses and gear, but near the passes he was stripped of everything and left to make his way homewards on foot if possible. It was very tantalizing to be so near Valdivia and not to be able to explore the route thither and visit the Pioneches, and indeed Casimiro and myself had planned a trip from Las Manzanas, but it was abandoned, owing to the lateness of the season and